

# Peace News

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## USE NON-VIOLENCE FOR OUR STRUGGLE —15,000 Negroes in Washington pilgrimage

LAST Friday Negroes from all over the United States gathered on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC, as the climax of a "prayer pilgrimage for freedom." The crowd, estimated by the London Times correspondent at 15,000, were urged by their leaders to use peaceful persistence in their struggle for equal rights.

The date marked the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision overthrowing the "separate but equal" doctrine and ruling racial segregation in schools unconstitutional. One speaker called it "the greatest single act of government since emancipation."

### Racial Justice

The "pilgrimage of prayer" had other objectives in addition to expressing thanksgiving for that Supreme Court decision.

It was also to call upon all Negroes to adhere to non-violence in their struggle for freedom, to "arouse the conscience of the nation in favour of racial justice," to demonstrate the unity of the Negroes, to protest against terror and violence in the South, to urge Congress to enact adequate civil rights legislation, and to plead with President Eisenhower and Congress to provide strong, moral and courageous leadership.

The mood of the gathering was heavily religious, but the political relevance of their message came through as speakers urged Negroes to register and vote even in the South where shooting and other forms of intimidation has disenfranchised many where legal methods have failed.

The Times correspondent wrote that the mood of Christian dedication with emphasis on non-violent resistance and peaceful methods to secure Negro rights "was perhaps the most striking impression to be formed."

Two Negro children who had last year attempted to register at the high school at Clay, Kentucky, under the menace of a white mob, placed a wreath by Lincoln's statue.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the speakers and leader of the famed Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott, and other

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## HAROLD STEELE IN TOKIO

HAROLD STEELE, who had hoped to get into the Christmas Island area in a one-man bid to stop the British H-test arrived in Tokio after the first bomb had been exploded.

In a phone call from Tokio on Saturday morning he told Peace News that discussions with the Japanese were continuing as to the most effective form of action now possible.

Before leaving New Delhi for Tokio he had a 25-minute interview with Mr. Nehru, and later with the Japanese Ambassador. He met the Vice-President of India for tea and made a news-reel feature item.

## Don't wait for Russia or America —CANON COLLINS

PREACHING in St. Paul's Cathedral last Sunday, Canon L. John Collins referred to what he called the "unworthy means used by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Lord Cherwell and others in attacking those who opposed the British H-bomb tests."

"By implication," he said, "they lump together all abolitionists—atomic physicists, biologists, churchmen, the Pope, Albert Schweitzer, mothers, the man in the street—and accuse them of all being Communists, fellow-travellers, dupes of Communist propaganda, or cranks."

It was not the task of the Church, the Scotsman reports him as saying, to provide a cover of respectability behind which the State might follow the way of expediency untroubled by pricks of conscience.

The making of such a murderous weapon of destruction as the H-bomb was clearly a departure from Christian principles and standards of behaviour. "Let Christians then be loyal to the Gospel they preach; let them challenge Britain to give the moral lead in this matter, and not wait for Russia or America to do so first."

### 'Renounce atomic weapons'—Bishop

The Bishop of Manchester, Dr. W. D. L. Greer writes this week in his diocesan leaflet: "I should like to see our country renounce once and for all the use of atomic weapons."

"We are at the turning point of the ways, and what is done and decided during the next few years may determine whether the path leads to a garden or a graveyard."

Fear could be defeated only by faith, "a faith willing to take risks," he urged.

## ALTRINCHAM, SOPER, BROCKWAY on unarmed defence inquiry—inside

# IF ANOTHER BOMB IS TESTED

## Plans for March to Downing Street

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

ON the Sunday following the next British H-bomb test, men and women have been called to assemble at Hyde Park (Speaker's Corner) for a protest march to No. 10 Downing Street.

The exact date of the next test explosion is not known, but the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests are asking all their supporters, and the women who took part in the Black Sash march to Trafalgar Square, to be ready to join in this demonstration.

### MASS LOBBYING

The Council are also organising a mass lobbying of MPs at the House of Commons on Wednesday, June 5, at 7 p.m., to protest against last week's test explosion and those that are being planned. Over fifty local groups are working with the Council.

At Cambridge University a debate in the Union planned to take place on Wednesday was abandoned because of the difficulty of finding speakers who were in favour of the testing of nuclear weapons, and in finding an independent chairman.

The debate was to be part of a week's programme being co-ordinated by the recently formed "Cambridge Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons."

Plans included a literature stall in the market organised by the undergraduate societies; special announcements and prayers in churches, through the Fellowship

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## Defence chiefs were told "hurry"

### TO THE EDITOR

ON the front page of the Daily Express of May 16, I find the following statement:

"The Foreign Office warned the defence chiefs that the tests must be completed early this summer, because it might soon be impossible to stave off the growing demand for the banning of H-bomb explosions."

This statement makes me wonder if we are living under a democratic Government who have regard to the obvious will of the people. Or are we living under a dictatorship which, through the Foreign Office and the defence chiefs, does what it likes, regardless of the will of the people?

I have always understood that the difference between our form of Government and that of the Soviet Union is that whilst in the latter, it is the people who exist for the State, in our form of Government it is the State which exists for the people. Under present conditions it seems there is very little difference between the two, as in each case it appears that those in power (who call themselves the State) do what suits them, irrespective of the will of the people.

—ROBERT NARRAWAY, 57 Victoria Road, Polegate, Sussex.

Eileen Fletcher will speak on "Civil Liberties in Kenya" at the Caxton Hall, London, on May 28 at 7.30 p.m., sponsored by The National Council for Civil Liberties.

## "Inhuman in the absolute sense"

—Dr. BRONOWSKI

From Carlton Hardy

IN the "Any Questions" programme on the BBC Light Programme on May 17 a question was put to the team concerning the position of British nuclear science as compared with that of Russia and the United States, and the recent British H-bomb test.

The team consisted of Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Sir Robert Boothby, Dr. J. Bronowski, Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, and the question-master was Freddy Grisewood.

Answering the question, Dr. Bronowski said there was danger in these large tests and that a "thousand, or thousands," of people will be affected by the recent test.

### HIROSHIMA

He said he was on the spot in Hiroshima and Nagasaki soon after the atomic-bombs were dropped in 1945 and he was one of the authors of the report, by the Stationary Office, of the "Effects of the atomic-bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

"I went through factories and saw skeletons of people who had died at work," Dr. Bronowski told the audience and listeners. "I saw a body that had been shrivelled up and I took photographs for the report," he added.

Dr. Bronowski said that in writing the report he had tried to find a suitable illustration of the terrible effects of the atomic bombs.

He had likened the effect of one atomic bomb dropped on London to one of the "blockbuster" bombs (the largest bomb made in the last war) being dropped on Gulliver's Lilliput.

Now, he said, one H-bomb dropped on London would be like dropping one atomic bomb on Lilliput.

### EYES CLOSED

Dr. Bronowski thought the nuclear tests were "inhuman in the absolute sense," and that the testing of such weapons was, "not worthy of any human society whatever." He condemned "walking with eyes closed to man's inhumanity to man."

Sir Robert Boothby had said earlier that he thought "all war ghastly and utterly inhuman," but he thought the H-bomb may be the complete deterrent to war.

"With the possibility of annihilation the world went to war," he said.

After hearing Dr. Bronowski, who spoke after him, Sir Robert said how moved he had been by Dr. Bronowski's statement. Freddy Grisewood said he had also been moved by Dr. Bronowski's answer.

Harold Wilson said people all over the world die of poverty. He thought there should be a pooling of the energy and scientific knowledge of all nations "to end world poverty and world hunger."

## Death of Gilbert Murray

PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY, described as "the greatest humanistic scholar in England for the last fifty years," died at his Oxford home on Monday at the age of 91.

He was joint Chairman of the League of Nations Union for 15 years and in 1946 became joint President of the United Nations Association.



# Background to the conference of Nigerian leaders in London

## TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

THIS month a constitutional conference of major importance for the future of Nigeria is being held in London.

No one doubts that the chief outcome of this conference will be that Nigeria will follow Ghana into self-government in 1959. The question is—what further? To begin to answer this we must look at the history and geography of the country.

Not much is known about the origins of the people of Nigeria or their early history. It must be remembered that the Sahara is not an unsurmountable barrier, and there was a trade route across it in Roman times. Certainly there is plenty of evidence of contact between Nigeria and the Sudan, though the contention that the Yorubas originated in Egypt must be regarded as unproved.

There are four major language groups in the country. The Yorubas in the south-west and the Ibos in the south-east represent tribal divisions, as do the Fulani in the north. The Hausa group in the north is a great mixture. The north is predominantly Muslim; over the rest of the country there has, since the middle of last century, been effective Christian mission work, which has made a notable contribution to education, and thus exercises an influence disproportionate to the number of Christians. There remains, in the country areas, a strong residue of paganism.

### PROGRESS

The early indigenous culture is the subject of research at present in progress. Some astonishing bronze heads have been found at Ife, and must rank with the masterpieces of world culture. One may be seen in the British Museum. Their origin is extremely controversial. Benin was the principal centre of power and culture in the nineteenth century.

In early days Portugal established a dominant interest in West Africa, but in the middle of the nineteenth century, British influence began to predominate. As usual with British expansion, there was a peculiar mixture of motives in which the abolition of the slave-trade and the dissemination of Christianity jostled with imperial prestige and other trading interests. But it should be remembered that only in 1900 did Nigeria come under the formal control of the British Government.

The half century which followed has seen extraordinary social and economic progress, though much remains to be done. In just over 50 years the percentage of children at school has multiplied more than 1,000 times; the percentage of the population receiving skilled medical attention about 2,000 times.

Nigeria has its own University College, including a hospital fit to rank with any in the world.

Trade expansion—cocoa, palm-kernels, groundnuts, palm-oil, cotton, tin, columbite, timber, hides, rubber and bananas—has been stupendous. In 1900 there was no railway and no motor-roads. Now the railway covers 2,000 miles and the roads 32,000.

### THREE REGIONS

There is no doubt that Britain has benefited considerably by economic development in Nigeria, no doubt either that in fostering our own interests we have encouraged a substantial rise in standards of living among the Nigerians. But history, if we will ever learn from it, shows that people are not content with paternalistic government from outside and demand the freedom to govern themselves. This is what is happening today, and it is accelerated by the granting of independence to Ghana.

The principal divisions of Nigeria are the three regions, north, west and east: Lagos, the capital, is neutral federal territory. Of these regions the north presents special problems. It is by far the largest, geographically, three-quarters of the whole, and containing over half the population. It is largely Muslim, and governed by semi-feudal Emirates. It is backward industrially, educationally and socially. The dominant political party is the Northern People's Congress; the Prime Minister is the



Photo: Macdonald & Co.

A lesson in crop rotation for pupils at Christ's School, Ado Ekiti, Nigeria.

Sardauna of Sokoto. The north is suspicious of Europeanisation and Christianity, and jealously careful not to be swamped by the more volatile south.

### DR. AZIKIWE

Eastern Nigeria is the centre of the most colourful of Nigeria's political leaders, Dr. Azikiwe, generally known as Zik, who leads the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). Zik was the first Nigerian politician to become a national leader. A lawyer with an American education, plenty of drive, boundless ambition, and a genuine desire for the independence of Nigeria, he is likely to be a dominant political figure for many years.

Unfortunately, NCNC, superb publicists, sometimes put forward flashy schemes which are ill-planned and difficult to execute, and Zik's integrity is not above suspicion; the recent Foster-Sutton Tribunal described his conduct over certain financial transactions as unbecoming in a Minister. In fact, the episode paradoxically strengthened his position, for he properly resigned and went to the country, and the fact that he was challenged rallied support behind him.

The west is sleepier than the east. The Action Group, led by Chief Awolowo, has arisen partly as a counterblast and opposition to the NCNC, partly to represent western interests. Awolowo lacks Zik's dynamic personality, but he is a sound administrator, and his integrity has not been questioned, though it is suggested that Government money in the west is more readily available for local councils with an Action Group majority than for others.

### CHIEF AWOLOWO

It will be seen at once that Nigerian independence will raise considerable political problems. There is personal tension and rivalry of ambition between the individual leaders. The one thing which would certainly unite them would be any attempt by the British Government to withhold independence!

Further, it is difficult to see how parties which basically represent regional interests and rival ambitions rather than different national policies can effectively work the British Parliamentary system. On the other hand experience gained in regional

by John Ferguson

The writer, a former Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is Professor of Classics at University College, Ibadan.

government will be invaluable in facing federal and national problems.

There has been considerable constitutional advance since the war. When the war ended there were only some ten Africans on the Legislative Council, and none on the Governor's Executive Council. Now there is a Council of Ministers in place of the Executive Council, consisting of the Governor-General (Sir James Robertson, a wise and friendly Scot), three ex-officio members, and ten Nigerian Ministers appointed by the party leaders.

### FEDERAL STRUCTURE

The House of Representatives comprises 184 elected members and no Europeans. There is no Federal Premier, but each Region has its elected House of Assembly, Premier and Ministers appointed in the usual way. Foreign policy, communications, currency, police, customs, etc., are the province of the Federal Government; the Regions are responsible for their internal administration. Much progress has been made with the Nigerianisation of the Civil Service, and by 1954 one-third of the Senior Posts were held by Nigerians.

It should be added that there is a small but influential body of opinion which regards the present Regional structure as inimical to national unity. Those who hold this view want to retain the federal structure, but recommend smaller divisions of states. There was a notable demonstration in favour of this policy carried out by the students of the University College, about a third of them being actively involved, a high proportion.

This has arisen in the country from a multitude of motives, but among the students it was in part, at least, a mark of the unity they have found with one another at College. The University is, in fact, fulfilling one of its functions; it is drawing people out of tribal and regional thinking into a sense of unity with one another.

I wish I could be as certain that this sense of national unity is being transcended by a sense of world citizenship. But that has as yet little currency in Nigeria, though there are lively branches

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of the United Nations Students' Association both at the University College and at the College of Arts and Technology.

What then is likely to emerge from the constitutional conference? We may see the regional leaders growing in mutual respect and harmony and a common desire to work out the best for the country as a whole. If so, nothing more important could emerge.

We may see pressure from some Regions for regional independence, which has been promised if requested. Such independence would be more a matter of prestige than real freedom, for the British Governors interfere very little at present, but it is a real point of prestige.

Controversial points, such as the division into states, will most likely be refrigerated, perhaps in the cold storage of a Royal Commission. But it seems certain that self-government will come in 1959, and that is another tremendous step in relations between black and white, and the transformation of colonies into Commonwealth.

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## Clash over Kathleen Lonsdale's book

SHOUTING from an audience of over 300 drowned some of the remarks made by Professor C. F. Davidson when he criticised Dame Professor Kathleen Lonsdale's recently published Penguin book, "Is Peace Possible?" in St. Andrew's Town Hall recently.

Professor Davidson, Professor of Geology in St. Andrew's University, suggested that Dame Kathleen was misleading the public and quoted references from her book about Belgian profits from the sale of Congo Uranium ore to America and Britain. He contended that Belgium chose to mine low cost Uranium as a contribution to the defence of the western world.

"I hope," he said, that Dame Kathleen will apologise for her insult to a gallant and generous nation."

Dame Kathleen Lonsdale pointed out that she complained in her book that the Belgian Government had published information about 25 Copper mines and five Uranium mines together and that it was impossible to find out facts about the mining of Uranium.

As a result of her publication attention had been drawn to the conditions in these mines, and she had been thanked for doing so, since new investigations were being carried out.

By over 300 votes to 12 the meeting urged the Government to "postpone or abandon the proposed H-bomb tests . . . in order to give a lead to other countries and to strengthen the United Kingdom in her efforts to bring about the total abandonment of such testing."

## DOES THIS CONCERN YOU?



THE staff at Dick Sheppard House has been working overtime during the past few days packing and dispatching envelopes to every member on the "live file." Everyone has had a copy of the annual report and a ballot paper for the election of our National Chairman and nine members of National Council. Voluntary subscribers have also had a note of appreciation from the Treasurers, and others an appeal written by Minnie Pallister.

So this week I must appeal specially to readers of Peace News who are not on our live file and may not even be members of the Peace Pledge Union. The fact that you are a reader of Peace News means that you are interested in pacifism and, I hope, sympathetic towards the work of the PPU. If so, will you please show your sympathy in a practical way. In her appeal Minnie Pallister points out that the nation spends about £60 per head a year on luxuries and £30 on war preparation, and asks every member to send at least 2s. 6d. to help to provide the £6,000 a year for which the PPU asks. We do also rely on the generosity of others who by their gifts to the PPU Headquarters Fund help to raise £1,150 a year.

Let me, therefore, add this appeal to all the others which have been posted. If you are on the "live file," please respond as generously as possible in the reply envelopes you should have received. If you are not, please send me a generous donation for the PPU Headquarters Fund. We really do need YOUR help.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

P.S.—If you are a member of PPU but have not yet received a voting paper, there is just time for you to write for one. They have to be returned to me by first post on Monday, May 27.

Our aim for the year: £1,150.

Amount received to date: £185.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

# A WORLD COUNCIL FOR SATYAGRAHA

By Dharampal

IN recent years ideas of non-violent action by boycott, satyagraha and other expressions of non-violent resistance, have been discussed in various places.

Concurrently, the method of satyagraha has been mooted to challenge nuclear tests. This idea is being considered in places as wide apart as Britain, Japan, USA and India.

But most of these efforts are unconnected and unorganised. At the same time, present-day conflicts arise so precipitately and are so far-reaching that these efforts have no appreciable effects upon the tragic course of events.

### Gandhi's example

In the modern age, Mahatma Gandhi has been the supreme exponent of non-violence and satyagraha (non-violent resistance), to counteract tyranny and enslavement.

He successfully demonstrated its relevance and its effectiveness in relation to the international problems of a country.

The freedom of India, the relative lack of bitterness between India and Britain after 1947, and the solution—at least partial—of untouchability and other Indian social problems, are the living symbols. Today its effectiveness is amply demonstrated in Montgomery (Alabama) and Johannesburg, or by the achievements of the Bhoodan (Land Gift) Movement in India.

### International action so far unattempted

But during Gandhi's lifetime practically the whole of his time and energy, and of those around him, were of necessity devoted to the problems of that one country.

The problems around him were so immediate and overwhelming that there was no opportunity of testing the technique of non-violent direct action against international strife and aggression.

India achieved independence, and shortly after that he was gone. Thus it is probably lack of experience and precedent that

## H-BOMB MADE HIM A PACIFIST

PETER TRAFFORD, who will contest Peterborough, was the first of three Parliamentary candidates to speak at the Fellowship Party's second Annual General Meeting, at Kingsway Hall on May 4.

It was the issue of the H-bomb which had brought the Fellowship Party into being; it was this issue which had made him decide to be a pacifist. "I had at length to realise that this was a personal responsibility; that I, or my son, might be ordered to drop this thing, killing the masses, perhaps destroying half a million children."

Albert Leaper, prospective candidate for Hull, said all other parties were committed at some stage to using the method of war. Pacifists within these parties were at the beck and call of the whips, and all too often acquiesced. Only the Fellowship Party member could vote according to conscience or individual judgment.

There were various reasons, some of dubious morality, for wanting Britain to abolish her own atomic tests, but the logical conclusion of the argument, and the way of Christianity and morality, was to have no arms at all—to go the whole way, said Ronald Mallone, prospective candidate for Woolwich West. "If one country were to stand completely defenceless and unarmed against the world, there could be no question of its intention, no misrepresentation."

In opening and closing the meeting, John Loversced, Chairman, emphasised the fact that forces for war were moving more swiftly than in any previous period of history: the forces of peace must move with equal speed and determination.

renders our own efforts in that direction so halting and, for the most part, still-born.

In a recent statement on the nuclear tests, Shri Rajagopalachari said, "How I wish Gandhi were alive in this critical hour in the world's history. He would not have hesitated to throw India into this supreme battle . . ." And indeed, all of us who are moved by Gandhi's approach to life feel this sense of being unequal to the task of combatting the tragedy around us.

### The isolated groups

Nevertheless, it is also true that the spark of his life has not left us unaffected. In various countries there are organisations and groups which propagate and practice the philosophy of non-violence. There are organisations like the SCI (Service Civil International, British branch, International Voluntary Service for Peace) the Friends Service Units, the Ramakrishna Mission, Associations for War on Want and others, which try to translate the idea of world brotherhood into practice.

But we are living in no ordinary times. Fundamental changes are taking place throughout the world; socio-political transformations are a continuous phenomenon. Also, the very impact of these events on a rather stupidified and psychologically unprepared mankind itself produces further strife and suffering.

### The need for united effort

In face of all these explosive situations it is of extreme importance that all who believe in the efficacy of non-violent action in relation to international problems should unite in a concerted effort.

The organisation of a World Council for Non-violent Resistance would be an appropriate beginning.

A permanent organisation of this kind, drawing its members from various countries, individually and through any organisations which subscribe to this concept, could act as a clearing-house for ideas of direct non-violent action, and for informing and educating world opinion.

It often so happens that with every catastrophe our anger and shame tend to induce frustration and impotence. This in turn engenders the feeling that problems of power, if soluble at all, can only be solved by the exercise of political and military authority and technique.

To break out of this impasse is the most urgent need of our age. The greater, therefore, is the need for unity and concerted action by those who hold the vision of the true path to peace.

## Opposed to the Warfare State

"I AM opposed to a continuation of this warfare State, which up to the moment, has produced only fear and tension," said Victor Yates, MP (Lab., Birmingham, Ladywood), recently during a speech against the Finance Bill which allocates £1,420,000,000 for defence.

He pointed out that to train and equip one National Service man for two years costs £740 and to train a bomber or a fighter pilot £45,000.

"If I could have a sum representing what we spend on defence in six hours, I could turn the city of Birmingham into a vastly different place; and if similar amounts were allocated to them, the other cities would do the same, he continued.

Public opinion in Britain and the world would eventually compel Members of Parliament "to look at this matter from the point of view of the people and the peace of the world and make a real contribution by reducing the burden of this wasteful, destructive defence expenditure in favour of something more humane and better for civilisation," he concluded.

## UN Peace Corps proposal

MRS. R. SMYTHE, a member of the Central Committee of the Women's Co-operative Guild, said that mankind could not survive a hydrogen bomb war, when she supported a resolution calling for the discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests, carried at the Annual Congress of the Guild in Leicester.

"It is suicidal madness to continue to prepare for such a war," she declared. "Some nation has got to show signs of sanity. Let us unite together and see to it that this Government takes upon itself the moral leadership of the world or makes way for a Labour Government who will."

She felt that another war would "explode upon us unannounced. The first thing we are likely to know about it is from another world."

Moving a resolution that Congress reaffirmed its belief in UNO. Mrs. Moon, Brentwood, asked for the establishment of neutral areas in Europe by agreement to withdraw foreign troops now stationed in other countries under the NATO and Warsaw Treaties.

Mrs. Moon also called for the abandonment of private and sectional military pacts outside the framework of UNO which, she said, should never have been formed.

She asked that a Committee be set up to examine international waterways and air routes with a view to bringing them under international control.

She wanted a formation of an International Peace Corps, under UNO's authority, to be placed at strategic points throughout the world with the power to maintain UN frontiers, preventing war, and taking action in cases of disaster such as famine, floods, and earthquakes.

Unanimous support was given by Congress to a resolution urging the closing of military bases, and for a resolution demanding the abolition of conscription.

## Rising discontent in Portugal

PUBLIC discontent in Portugal against Salazar's regime is increasing according to a reliable report from inside Portugal. "The cracks in the august façade of Salazar's *Estado Novo* [New State] are daily becoming wider and deeper, and very soon the fabric will topple down," the source states.

Military and police measures in Goa have "devoured all the surpluses of the past years" and the Government's vast expenditures have "shaken the financial stability of the State." These economic conditions are reported to be contributing to conditions "goading the masses to revolt against the regime . . ."

It is also reported that force had to be used to make Portuguese infantry embark for Goa in early April. Colonel Santos Costa, the Defence Minister, is reported to have had to personally cajole the infantry to embark for Goa.

The Czechoslovak Government has ordered the Esperanto language "near-pacifist" journal "The Defender of Peace" to cease publication. This journal once reviewed the Esperanto edition of Grace Beaton's report to the Paris Council of the War Resisters' International.

### Members of the Vegetarian

#### Catering Association

are pledged to foster a high standard of catering. Many of them use compost grown produce and make or provide wholewheat bread. Some undertake prescribed diets and all have a concern for "whole foods."

#### DESCRIPTIVE LIST

43 Lancaster Grove, London, N.W.3

### "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis, of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE 6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

## Voice of Arabia?

THE quarrels and the reconciliations of the Governments of what we call the Middle East bulk very large in the world's news today, and columns have been devoted to the fact that King Feisal of Iraq and King Saud of Saudi Arabia spent last week in Bagdad discussing their relationships with each other and the other Arab States.

On the face of it there would seem to be very little reason why so much attention should be paid throughout the rest of the world to these comings and goings. Apart from Egypt, with its population of 23 millions none of these States has a population larger than that of a big European city. Added together they just about total the population of Egypt, which means that with Egypt included there are about as many people involved in the whole of this very unquiet area as there are in the population of Britain or France.

There is oil, however, in these lands; and they also provide a manoeuvring ground for the operations of the two power blocs, and naturally they seek to play these off one against the other. Hence the excessive excitement about the operations of men like Feisal and Saud, kings of peoples comparable with the populations of the larger European or US cities.

The Bagdad talks have brought Iraq partly back into the Arab fold following its alienation through its adherence to the Bagdad Pact. This has been achieved, however, as part of the "pull devil, pull baker" operations that are going on among the Arab States in general, particularly in relation to Egyptian policies. The greatest common measure of unity has to be found therefore, as so often in these cases, in shared hatreds; and the sterile intransigence of the Arabs in regard to the Israeli problem is an unpleasant thing to observe.

## Sterile hatred

A return to peace and stability in the Middle East, the two kings pronounce. "depends on a just solution of the Palestine problem, safeguarding its Arab character, and restoring its people to their full rights by returning their country," which seems to be another way of asserting Nasser's claim that there will be a state of belligerency until the Jews of Palestine are swept into the sea.

About the Gulf of Aqaba the two kings say:

"Both nations affirm their determination to protect the rights of the Arabs, which is a closed Arab gulf leading to the holy Moslem places, and they will do their utmost to prevent Israeli violation of this Arab gulf by all means at their disposal.

They round off this section of their joint statement by pledging themselves to continue efforts to prevent the shipment of Arab or Moslem oil to Israel.

It is a shocking exhibition of sterile hatred.

That there are people among the Jews of Palestine who are capable of a more liberal and positive approach we know because we have been able from time to time to publish statements from them.

There must surely be some liberal minds among the Arabs also. We wish they could find the courage to speak out.

## Superannuation

THE Labour Party's National Superannuation scheme marks a revolution in the distribution of the national income. It is based on a weekly pension of £3 guaranteed against inflation, and offers to the new pensioner at 65 a weekly income roughly equal to half his average wage over a period of years.

The scheme seeks to remove two injustices: that of a fixed pension in an age of perpetual inflation, and that of two-thirds of the working population who have no superannuation. It is, however, too complex to be considered here in detail. It raises tremendous issues.

It will transfer, by way of taxes and larger contributions, considerable sums of money from the better-off sections of the community to the lower-paid sections. That may be just, but today the big struggle in every section of society is for sectional advantage, differentials of many kinds. We must therefore expect the pass-



ing of the scheme to be followed by demands to adjust differentials.

Again, the new scheme will increase pensioners' spending power, while the higher rates of contribution will raise production costs and thus prices, and higher prices will jeopardise the export trade.

Soon or late the fact will have to be

faced that the devouring propensities of our time must be checked or catastrophe will follow. The cry of every Western country is for more exports, and of every class for more money, and when money fails hire purchasing rises.

The result is inflation, increasing world tension and growing fear. The remedy is

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## BRITAIN "GREAT" AGAIN!

THE British Government has exploded its H-bomb. There is a grisly appropriateness in the fact that while Parliament was debating the sorry consequences of the Government's wicked stupidity last year in the invasion of Egypt, there came the news of this new piece of stupidity, which threatens disastrous consequences on a much more menacing scale.

The threat inherent in the Government's insistence on doing this thing is apparent in the reasons for the satisfaction given by those who approve of it. Generally, the fact that the British Government has now become capable of delivering world destruction has been treated in the Press with much sobriety, and a recognisable absence of enthusiasm. There are those, however, that have set themselves to welcome what has happened as Britain's return to "greatness."

The London Evening Standard, for instance, remarks:

"The world has been given irrefutable proof of Britain's determination to remain a great Power—and of her ability to carry the responsibilities of this role. The H-bomb is a shield, not an offensive weapon. Its terrifying destructive force carries with it a promise of peace. And its possession distinguishes those States whose voice carries decisive weight in the council of the nations from those of lesser influence."

"The bomb is the key to full national independence . . . This country's freedom of action will be strengthened: the dependence on others will be lessened."

Similarly, Mr. Macmillan tells the House of Commons that Britain will now be in a better bargaining position.

★ ★  
WHAT are the French, the Germans, the Italians—and the Chinese—to make of this? They are being told that their bargaining power has been diminished and that their dependence on others has been increased.

Indeed, before the British series of tests began, Mr. Macmillan, having remarked that if the British tests were not carried out now they would never be carried out, said, to the plaudits of his side of the House, that he was not prepared to take the responsibility for that.

Is he then able to assume, and can we assume, that M. Mollet or his successor, Dr. Adenauer, or Mr. Mao Tse-tung will be ready to accept a responsibility that Mr. Macmillan has rejected?

Are they to rest content to be among the nations of "lesser influence" and not to try to take their place among those "whose voice carries decisive weight in the council of the nations"?

Here is the old stupid fallacy that it is all right for the British to have great and menacing power, because there is no danger that they will abuse it, with the complacent assumption that all the peoples of the world will view the matter in this light. While we are making this assumption we are congratulating ourselves that we are now in a position to drive a harder bargain when the need arises than we otherwise should have been.

There clearly cannot be anything static in this situation. Other Governments, including those that are allied with us, will in their turn desire to increase their bargaining power, to "negotiate from strength." And the ensuing armaments race will now be on a plane on which the fate of the world is at stake.

★ ★  
IT is in this fact that lies the criminal stupidity of the British Government. Like others who love their country and have pride in its institutions, we desire to see Britain great. We have hoped that by the abandonment of outmoded military calculations she might reach out for greatness.

It is because of this that it is with a great feeling of humiliation that we are compelled to recognise that the present British Government has a mindless capacity for criminal irresponsibility that is beyond anything that is happening in the world today.

Following upon the recognition of the gravity of the realisation at the "Summit" meeting of the heads of powers in 1955 that the development of the H-bomb means that war now carries with it unprecedented dangers for mankind, the British Government, with that of France, was the first to be guilty of the criminal irresponsibility of entering upon aggressive war for the furtherance of its national policy.

It has now been guilty of the greater crime of extending the area of the possession of H-bombs beyond the two powers that had these things when the "Summit" meeting brought that dread realisation. The Government claims that it has done this as a means to "greatness".

It is hoped that among the other powers there will be those who can achieve greatness of a different kind and will be able to see that the way to respect and influence among the peoples of the world today is through a renunciation of the power to destroy them.

a revolution in education, nationwide discussions of the good life, what it is and how it can be realised. The aged must be protected against inflation, but the nation must learn the art of preventing inflation. Not till then will justice be within reach.

## Church opposition

OPPOSITION to the attempt of the South African Government to enforce apartheid on the Churches is growing.

This is in spite of the modification of the Bill, which has substituted for the requirement that all coloured persons should get a permit from the Minister of Native Affairs before they could attend church worship, a clause which gives authority to the Minister to direct that no natives shall attend any church or other religious services on premises situated within any urban area outside a native residential area.

Even the Council of the Dutch Reformed Church which was reported earlier as having stated that no violence would be done to the Church's principles by the clause, is having second thoughts.

Strong opposition was voiced in the recent synod in Pretoria and even theologians who agree with separate churches, are concerned at the attempt to drive the division so far that it excludes full communion in Christ.

The Roman Catholic bishops in South Africa have denounced the Bill, saying that they cannot submit to the claim by the State to regulate the worship and religious practice of individuals. A thousand Catholic and Protestant laymen stood in silence in Petermaritzburg to mark their common stand against the restriction on the religious freedom of coloured Christians. The Anglican bishops in South Africa have again emphasised their opposition and urged all Christians to practise civil disobedience if the Bill became law.

If, therefore, the Dutch Reformed Church is now prepared to oppose the Bill, the whole body of church people will be so united on the issue as to form a formidable obstacle to the Government's intentions.

## Friend from Spain

"MILITARISM" hangs like a pall over public life, but I found much private kindness even from people who disagreed with my political opinions," a friend recently returned from Spain tells me.

He adds that when he passed a very handsome seaside college in Barcelona, his taxi-driver said:

"That's a poisoning centre. They take our youth and fill them with militarist poison."

I notice that one of Britain's "poisoning centres," Welbeck College, is being very lavishly advertised by the War Office in The Times these days.

## "Read this appeal . . ."

SO far as I am aware Peace News remains the only newspaper in Britain to print the full text of Dr. Schweitzer's appeal.

A fifth printing has just come off the press, making 35,000 copies (including the issue of Peace News in which it first appeared).

One lady, living in St. Albans, and handed a copy in a train, wrote to Minnie Pallister through "Woman's Hour," " . . . some of the information astounded me. Writing in simple and lucid language, Schweitzer gives disturbing facts which have not, to my knowledge, been quoted anywhere in public discussions on the dangers or otherwise of nuclear tests. I wonder why key facts have been kept from the public eye?"

"Read this appeal . . . all of it!" (How Minnie, an enthusiastic PN reader, must have appreciated that sentence.) "Written by perhaps the gentlest and greatest man living, it's the most disturbing thing I have ever read. Women, mothers, wives everywhere should have a chance to hear what he has to say! Can you broadcast it?"





## Minister for Peace proposal

**BARROW CADBURY**, prominent Birmingham Quaker, and Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, prominent Quaker scientist and author of "Is Peace Possible" have been sending a letter to the Press and world statesmen urging the appointment in all nations of a new minister with the responsibility of promoting peace and good will.

Last year these two Quakers distributed a proposal for systematic progressive disarmament.

Their letter reads:

We are writing to you, to statesmen throughout the world and to others, to suggest that one most important step towards the promotion of peace and understanding between all nations would be the appointment of a Minister with some such title as "Minister for Peace and Goodwill" in every country in the world.

Such Ministers should be granted full powers and substantial financial support by their Governments and the important functions of this Office might include the following:

To keep in constant touch with Ministers for Peace and Goodwill in all other countries and to arrange for and attend occasional World Conferences on both general and specific problems of conciliation and peace.

To seek and promote all possible ways of co-operation with other countries, whether in commerce, in mutual financial and technological aid or in joint aid for other less-favoured nations, in education, in cultural interests or in sport.

To welcome and entertain official visitors from other countries, and to promote inter-visitation at all levels.

To promote reconciliation between and within nations where this is necessary, to remove misunderstandings and to redress grievances.

To assist in the nomination or appointment of Arbitrators, where required, in the case of disputes, and of Legal Advisers or Assessors, and to encourage the reference of justiciable disputes to the International Court of Justice.

To promote the progressive reduction of armaments on a budgetary or other basis.

To encourage the education of children everywhere for a world in which conflicts would be settled peacefully.

This office should be quite distinct from that of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as long as the latter is concerned in negotiations and treaties involving military sanctions.

Peacemaking and preparations for peace cannot be accomplished by war or preparations for war. The spreading of goodwill and of a genuine will to peace, however, is not an easy task and it would need strong public and Government support on a national and international basis, and the dedicated lives of men and women with first-class qualifications.

We believe that many political, religious and other bodies might wholeheartedly approve and advocate the appointment of such a Minister in every Government.

We are not writing on behalf of the Society of Friends (Quakers), but as individual members of that Society.

# H-BOMB TEST BRINGS RENEWED PROTESTS

● FROM PAGE ONE

of Reconciliation; a public meeting in the Guildhall organised by the Cambridge Peace Council and a film show and scientific brains trust organised by the Association of Scientific Workers.

The programme is expected to end next Tuesday with an evening service of prayer and intercession. Offers of help to John Hughes, Alex Wood Memorial Hall, Norfolk Street, Cambridge, or to any local peace organisation.

In the West of England city of Exeter about 50 people marched through the streets. Posters were carried with such slogans as "Stop H-bomb tests now" and "Do not test murder—De-test it," and a public meeting was held.

Alec Lea, of Combe Farm, Dunsford, near Exeter, Devon, is appealing for more local people to help the Exeter Peace Group in their campaign.

The Toldas Group, which has been encouraging the writing of letters to MPs, estimate that some 50,000 letters have been received at Westminster.

Giving this information to Peace News, Roger Rawlinson, a Portsmouth ex-serviceman, said:

"Replies received to letters by my wife and myself indicate that pro-H-bomb MPs are concerned at the strength of public opinion against the tests.

"Of course protesting merely at the tests is not enough, but this is an excellent occasion, not only to point out the immorality and dangers of war preparations, but to suggest the moral, and, in my view, practical alternatives of 'unarmed defence', as suggested by Sir Stephen King-Hall. I hope the flow of protest letters will continue to increase."

## Door-to-door campaign

The Leeds Central Committee of the Peace Pledge Union is circulating hundreds of copies of a petition calling on the Government to renounce the manufacture and use of all nuclear weapons, to stop the tests, and invite all other nations to follow this lead.

"We are starting a door-to-door campaign to collect signatures," Tom Lang told Peace News last Saturday. "We will gladly send copies to any readers in the U.K." Copies may be had from 5 Norman Terrace, Leeds, 8.

Plans for public meetings are being made in Sydenham on May 30 (by Mrs. Anne Lowe, Flat 3, Oak Park, SE23); Cardiff on May 30 (by Muriel Southern, 73 Ninians Road); Bristol on May 30 (by Will Parkin, 15 Kenmare Crescent, Bristol, 7); Whit-

Israeli pacifist Salom Zamir has recently been on a hunger strike as an "expression of solidarity with our brothers who are suffering with heroic spiritual strength under the enslaving hand of modern militarism," and as a protest against his own "unjustified punishment." He was imprisoned, having refused to pay a fine, following a demonstration last January at the French Consulate in Tel-Aviv in support of imprisoned French war resisters.

stable on May 31 (by Leonard Coles, 82 High Street, Beltinge).

The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests sent a letter of protest against Russian tests to the Soviet Government earlier this year.

This week they have sent a letter to the U.S. Government asking them to stop the tests planned to take place in Nevada.

A Liberal Party resolution, moved at a rally in Trafalgar Square, London, last Saturday, called for a public enquiry into the Foreign Secretary's recent statement that a good deal of the agitation against Britain's H-bomb tests came from Communist sources.

## One more runner in nuclear arms race

THE following statement was issued to the Press last week:

The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests—an entirely non-political organisation—deplores the Government's action in testing a nuclear weapon. The Government has acted in the face of the most widespread opposition in the country and against the repeated warnings of the most eminent and informed scientists.

Great Britain is no safer from devastation; we are now just one more runner in the nuclear arms race. The opportunity to take the moral leadership of the whole world has been rejected.

This first test by Great Britain has already added to the world's insecurity, and condemned an unknown number of people to death. The Government must now renounce all further tests and work for an end of all nuclear weapons everywhere before the present threat becomes the reality of annihilation.

## H-bomb scientists condemned

**DR. C. V. RAMAN**, the Indian physicist and Nobel Prize winner, has condemned manufacture of atom and hydrogen bombs.

Speaking in Bangalore on May 13, he said scientists should even starve rather than help in manufacture of these weapons of mass destruction.

He referred to the refusal by some German scientists to have anything to do with manufacture of nuclear weapons and said he wished that all men of science had the same kind of good sense.

## PEACE CANDIDATE FOR BY-ELECTION

WITH polling day on May 30, Bill Christopher, Independent Labour Party Candidate in the East Ham North Parliamentary By-Election, is rallying influential support from leaders of the peace movement.

Dr. Donald Soper has signified his support, as also has the Commonwealth Party.

Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, John Loverseed, Chairman of the Fellowship Party, George Stone, Editor of the Socialist Leader, and others, are speaking with the candidate at an eve-of-poll rally at Monega School, and Sybil Morrison, Peace Pledge Union Campaign Organiser, is addressing another meeting on Tuesday, 28, at Salisbury Road School.

Bill Christopher resigned from the Labour Party in protest against its support of H-bomb manufacture. He is in favour of Britain taking the lead in disarmament by example and opposes the H-bomb tests.

Helpers will be welcomed at the Committee Rooms, St. Barnabas Lower Institute, Rosebery Avenue, E.12, where Eric Fenner, who stood as an Independent Pacifist Candidate at the last General Election, is acting as Agent.

Peace News readers will be warmly welcomed at the Eve-of-poll Rally.

## Weapon of suicide not diplomacy

—MR. BEVAN

**MR. ANEURIN BEVAN**, speaking at Reading recently, reported The Times, said that if Britain had the moral stature she could say: "We can make the H-bomb, but we are not going to make it. We believe that what the human race needs is leadership in the opposite direction, and we are going to give it. We are going to prove there are influences and principles in the world that rise superior to those that attach still to the story of barbarism."

Mr. Bevan added: "I believe that if we could say and do that, tens of millions all over the world would once more lift their eyes towards Britain."

"A nation like Britain, with all its experience, all its sophistication, all its knowledge, all its compactness, all its remaining idealism, despite the fact that in the traditional sense it is no longer as powerful as it was, nevertheless can still become the leader throughout the whole world if it has the courage and vision."

Of the hydrogen bomb tests, Mr. Bevan asked: "Where do you stop? You stop nowhere this side of the grave." No weapon which was a weapon of suicide could be a weapon of diplomacy.

## Arrests in Bulgaria

**MASSIVE** arrests in Bulgaria of libertarians and syndicalists and other members of the anti-Communist, anti-Fascist resistance movement, and mass expulsions of students from the University have been reported by the Commission to Aid Bulgarian Anti-Fascists, according to Libertarian Views.

The Commission reports that "In spite of all the persecutions, the spirit of resistance continues. The regime is vulnerable and unstable. The people are openly showing their resentment and dissatisfaction."

"The Government called for volunteers to celebrate the entrance of the Red Army in Bulgaria, but they couldn't find even one. Thus is our passive resistance."

## Peace demonstration

in  
**HARROW**

**Saturday June 1**

Poster parade 2.30 p.m.

Open-air meeting 3.45 p.m.

Buffet tea 5 p.m.

Any questions 6.30 p.m.

Panel: **Stuart Morris, Owen Taylor, Rev. Owen Butler, Prof. KATHLEEN LONSDALE**

Question Master: **Sybil Morrison**

Organised by the

**Peace Pledge Union**

Volunteers for the parade should write to **Sybil Morrison, 6 Endsleigh St., London W.C.1 Tel. EUSton 5501**

## East Ham North By-Election

## EVE-OF-POLL RALLY

**Wednesday May 29, 8 p.m. at Monega School, Monega Road, Manor Park, London, E.12**

with

**PROF. KATHLEEN LONSDALE**

**JOHN LOVERSEED**

Chairman, Fellowship Party

**GEORGE STONE**

Editor "Socialist Leader"

**BILL CHRISTOPHER**

Independent Labour Party Candidate

and other speakers

**COME AND SUPPORT THE PEACE CANDIDATE**

Eric Fenner, Agent, St. Barnabas Lower Institute, Rosebery Avenue, London E.12

## PEACE NEWS Coming of age celebration

**On Thursday June 6 Peace News will be 21**

You are invited to join our birthday celebration at Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

Refreshments will be available from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

Speakers will include:

**HUMPHREY S. MOORE** (Founding Editor), **VERA BRITTAIN**, **DR. DONALD SOPER**, **MICHAEL TIPPETT**, **SYBIL MORRISON**, **BERNARD BOOTHROYD**, **HUGH BROCK**

Music by:

**FRANK MERRICK** (Pianoforte), **ERIC REES** (Baritone)

**RESERVE THE DATE NOW**

**3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.**



# INVESTIGATE UNARMED

COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL, prominent English political commentator and former member of the Admiralty Naval Staff, proposed in the King-Hall News-Letter of April 24 (reprinted in Peace News of May 10), that "in light of the novel and unprecedented defence problem which now faces the UK, Western Europe, and, to a lesser extent, the USA," the possibilities of unarmed resistance as a national defence policy be considered by a Royal Commission or a committee of the Imperial Defence College.

He pointed out that "the question on which the [Defence] White Paper is silent is whether physical means are the only or even the best methods of defence." He presented a carefully reasoned analysis of the nature of defence and the changes introduced by

civilian resistance movements (both non-violent and violent) and by nuclear weapons.

Commander King-Hall urged readers to put aside all "preconceived notions about defence and start from the simple proposition that we desire to defend our way of life and would prefer not to do it by risking its utter destruction." Urging consideration of unilateral abandoning of nuclear weapon tests and "a tremendous and world-wide educational campaign explaining the horrors of nuclear war, the dangers of tests, etc.," and "a really great effort" to increase contacts with the masses in the satellite Communist States, he proposed examination of "a fully pacifist policy" from "a strictly political-strategical angle." He then proposed that the appropriate body consider whether unarmed resistance could defend "our way of life" and, if so, what the plan should be.

## "No!" says Lord Altrincham

PACIFISTS (whose point of view I respect but cannot share) have long maintained that it is wrong to make war or to prepare for war, even for the sake of self-preservation. It is interesting to speculate what the world would be like today if Great Britain had had a pacifist Government in 1940, or if the traditional pacifism of the Labour Party had not been overcome by Attlee and Bevin after 1945.

On the whole, it must be admitted, pacifism has been out of fashion since the outbreak of World War II.

Now, however, it seems to be staging a comeback—in a new and rather disconcerting form.

In No. 1083 of his News-Letter, published on April 24, my friend Stephen King-Hall argues that pacifism should be "thoroughly examined from a strictly political-strategical angle."

### "FORTRESS AMERICA"

He suggests (as a matter for discussion and inquiry) that the United Kingdom should "announce unilaterally that it will not carry out any further [nuclear] tests and that the forthcoming test will be abandoned," and he goes on to propose that £100 million should be spent on preaching the moral of this high-minded act to the people of Iron Curtain countries.

How do these ideas strike me? I am much inclined to agree that the forthcoming British H-bomb test should be abandoned, but definitely not as part of a campaign of passive resistance.

The case against spending money on British H-bombs is briefly this. The Americans are our allies and they alone can provide an adequate nuclear deterrent. Bermuda has shown that we have to depend upon them for our ultimate safety, and the production of nuclear weapons for our own exclusive use would be sheer waste.

On the other hand it is vital that NATO should hold together and that the Americans should not withdraw their forces from Western Europe. If they were ever to adopt the policy known as "Fortress America," and treat Western Europe—including the United Kingdom—as expendable, the outlook would be grim indeed.

This policy has been strongly advocated in the past, and if the European members of NATO take American involvement in Europe for granted, and hasten to cut their defence budgets and their manpower commitments for domestic political reasons, "Fortress America" may once again become a major threat.

### MID-TERM ELECTIONS

After all, the Americans have their politics, too, and American mothers do not like their sons being sent thousands of miles to defend a piece of ground which their ancestors left behind them with mingled feelings of resentment and relief.

When the mid-term elections take place we can expect to hear quite a lot about this, and the wisdom of some of our recent Defence decisions may be open to very serious question. To have preferred the H-bomb to National Service may appear to many to have been mistaken.

But in the context of this article the point to stress is that, whatever doubts I

may have about the H-bomb test, they are not due to any hankering after a strategy of passive resistance. Let me come back to News-Letter 1083 and consider the very significant instances which Stephen King-Hall quotes in support of his argument.

"Gandhi's passive resistance campaign in India; the German passive resistance which defeated the French in the Ruhr in the 1920s; the Sinn Féin . . . terrorist campaign; the Israel victory over the British mandatory administration; the Algerian struggle; the EOKA movement in Cyprus; the resistance movements against the Nazis"—all these are cited, and one's first reaction must be to note that only the first two could properly be described as passive resistance.

### QUEENSBERRY RULES

But even if we ignore problems of definition, can we honestly say that these examples are in the least relevant to the situation as between the Communist bloc and what is loosely called "the West"?

I would say, with respect, that they have no relevance whatever, because the basic fact about the Russians is that they are prepared to go to all lengths when they

feel that it is in their interest to do so.

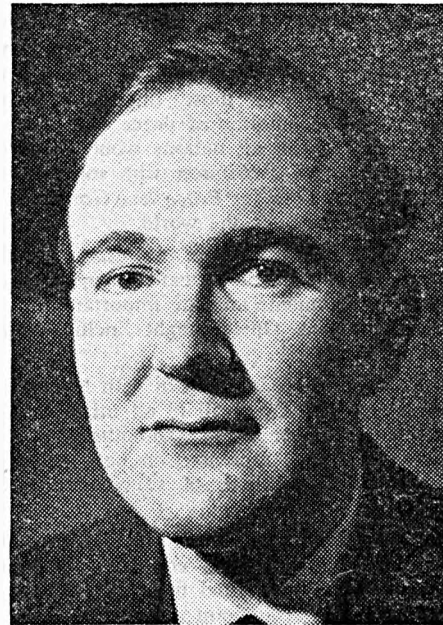
The case of Hungary has proved this beyond a scintilla of doubt, and it has also proved that passive resistance cannot succeed for long against an enemy whose ruthlessness knows NO bounds.

If the British Government could bring itself to use in Cyprus the same methods that the Russians have used in Hungary, EOKA would soon be eliminated—and probably a large section of the Cypriot population would be eliminated in the process. But fortunately this will never happen; however unenlightened a British Government may be, there are limits to what it will do.

EOKA is still in the field, and seems likely to emerge victorious, because the ordinary people of Cyprus have been more effectively terrorised by EOKA than by the British Government.

The conclusion, therefore, seems to be that passive resistance presupposes a set of Queensberry rules which are not recognised East of the Iron Curtain (nor, it must be admitted, invariably to the West of it).

If the high-level inquiry into this subject which Stephen King-Hall proposes were to lead to any other conclusion I should be



Study by JANE BOWN

Lord Altrincham

greatly surprised. When dealing with men who have no scruples the phrase "passive resistance" becomes a contradiction in terms.

## "Seize this opportunity"—Dr. SOPER

IT is becoming increasingly clear that the issue is no longer between the practical realism of those who believe in the necessity of armaments and the idealistic faith of those who confide in non-violence. This so called practical realism is in ruins and honest men such as Stephen King-Hall are facing the radically new situation which confronts us all.

The position as they see it is that we no longer have the option of security based on violence on the one hand, and an adventure rooted in non-violence on the other.

### THE CHOICE

The grim fact is that there is no security to be derived from armaments, because as Duncan Sandys has said there is no practical defence against these (nuclear) weapons.

The choice now is between two courses both of which are hazardous, and neither of which can appeal to the past for justification, because they both must be set in a new and revolutionised world.

Nuclear weapons have washed away the old landmarks, destroyed the old bases for argument and presented an inescapable demand for a new approach to the age long question as to how imperfect human beings can live together.

To Stephen King-Hall the exposure of the time honoured answer as pathetically and tragically out of date means that the alternative programme of non-violent resistance needs to be looked at again. It may turn out to be "Hobson's Choice."

In the absence of any other way it may have to be followed even though it seems almost incredible to millions of people that the world would be safer without any so called means



Dr. Donald Soper

of violent protection, without a single bomber, battleship or soldier. His proposal is a Royal Commission. Now it is easy enough to find objections to such a Commission, and indeed to pour scorn on it.

My first reaction is to welcome such a proposal for the simplest of good reasons. Any attempt to compel people to translate the ideal of non-violent resistance into practical terms of national policy is good—good both for pacifists and non-pacifists.

A Royal Commission would at least have its feet on the ground. Then again a Royal Commission would be able to scrutinise the existing situation free from the propaganda bias of party politics.

At the moment a great deal of the discussion in Parliament about defence and nuclear tests in par-

ticular seems to have been in the language of a lunatic asylum.

### CONCRETE

We need the facts and I imagine we could get them from a Royal Commission as we obviously cannot get them from a Government committed on nuclear tests.

One final reason for supporting King-Hall. This suggestion is concrete and simple.

There is a proposed need to try to harness peacemaking to a campaign in which ordinary people could have a share and from which they can feel that they were doing something practical.

Here is a good opportunity. I believe it ought to be seized with both hands.

## 336943

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### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Questions will be answered by a panel of pacifists at 6.30 p.m. on May 30 at 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. and at 6.30 p.m. on June 26, July 24, and August 28 at Friends House, Euston, Road, N.W.1.

Standing Joint Pacifist Committee

# DEFENCE ?

## "Yes!" says Fenner Brockway

THE hydrogen bomb has compelled re-thinking by all serious-minded men and women. Commander Stephen King-Hall's proposal is a symbol of this. There are, of course, some so conditioned by traditional views that not even a hydrogen bomb will shake them out of old grooves. Lord Altrincham's article is typical of these.

But most people who give a thought to the new realities which threaten the world are ready to consider a new approach. One would despair if this were not so. America, Soviet Russia and Britain already possess weapons which could destroy probably one-fourth of the population of the earth. Other nations now intend to make them.



Fenner Brockway, MP

Mutual fear of their effects will cause Governments to pause before recourse to war; but the danger grows as possession extends.

Mr. Dulles has defended the policy of going to "The brink of war" to achieve political ends. One day some Government may go too far.

### GRAVEYARD

Our own Government has reacted to the new danger of human destruction by a decision to concentrate on the production of the means of such destruction!

It admits that there is no defence, but is prepared to gamble on their deterrent effect.

Lord Altrincham quarrels with the decision to make H-bombs, but on the ground only that we can rely on America to make them for us.

Whether we make them or America makes them, the first bombs would be despatched from East Anglia and within a few hours Russia's retort would mean that the whole of Britain would become a graveyard.

Germany would similarly be the immediate victim of the American provision of H-bombs to NATO in Europe. It would become a No Man's Land of the Dead.

The German people are beginning to understand that.

There are two approaches to a solution. The first is international disarmament and the banning of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. For years Commissions have been sitting with little result, one gets the impression that the delegates are manoeuvring with no serious purpose of achievement.

Lord Altrincham's article is an illustration of the suspicions which have brought all proposals to nought. He cannot trust the Russians; they are, he says, prepared to go to all lengths when they feel that it is in their interests to do so.

The problem is that many Russians feel the same way about us and about the Americans, and when they look at our Governments they have every reason to do so.

### NEW SPIRIT

After all, Britain defied the United Nations for its own interests in Suez, and America is intervening in the Middle East in the interests of its oil.

The truth is that the Governments on both sides have done many things to justify suspicion. What is now required is a realisation by all that the whole human race is faced by a danger demanding a new spirit and a new approach.

How can we get this? First by pressure from the peoples in the countries where H-bombs and nuclear weapons are now being made. Secondly, by pressure from other Governments through the United Nations. I don't despair of either of these pressures. I believe public opinion

throughout the world may so develop, that the United Nations Assembly in the autumn will have to act.

The second solution is to find a method of resistance to aggression, to invasion and to alien domination which does not rely on weapons of physical destruction. It is in this field that Commander King-Hall's proposal for a Royal Commission is so significant.

The unthinking response to the fact that Russia has H-bombs is to say that we must have them to. But suppose aggression by Russia or any other country can be defeated by other means?

A Britain which developed an effective unarmed method of resistance would have no fear of a nuclear attack: an invading Russia would not want to occupy a graveyard. Is there such a method? Certainly there is enough evidence to justify an enquiry.

Commander King-Hall instances the classic case of the Gandhi-led resistance to the British occupation of India.

### NON-CO-OPERATION

There have been many other instances. When the Indian National Congress was preparing to launch its non-co-operation with Britain campaign. I undertook at its request an investigation of the practice of "Non-Co-operation in Other Lands" (it was published under this title). I gathered valuable evidence from Korea, South Africa (where Gandhi first experimented), Hungary, Egypt, Ireland.

In South Africa at the present moment, the African National Congress is beginning a boycott of Afrikaner economic enterprises which it is admitted may prove very effective in the campaign for racial equality.

The methods of non-violent resistance so far used do not complete the possibilities. They have mostly been practised in unindustrialised countries.

The opportunities to make an alien administration impossible in a highly developed industrial country would be far greater. A "non-co-operation" Trade Union movement, for example, could make

## The cost of a proper enquiry

From Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall.

MR. STUART MORRIS asks why "should not Stephen King-Hall set up his own working party." He was referring to my view that an authoritative and impartial body should be set to work to

In PEACE NEWS next week writing on

Commander King-Hall's proposal

REGINALD THOMPSON

War Correspondent, author of "Cry Korea" and "The Eighty-Five Days"

COMMANDER THOMAS FOX-PITT

Former Naval Commander and Colonial Office Administrator

Order extra copies of PEACE NEWS for your friends now.

LORD ALTRINCHAM, 33, John Edward Poynder Grigg, Second Baron Altrincham of Tormarton, is Editor of the National and English Review and Chairman of Periodical Publications Ltd. He was educated at Eton and New College, Oxford (MA, Modern History), and received the Gladstone Memorial Prize. He served in the Grenadier Guards 1943-45 and was a British delegate to the Commonwealth Press Conference in Canada, 1950. He contested Oldham West as a Conservative candidate in 1951 and 1955, succeeding to his father's Barony in 1955.

He is author (with Ian Gilmour) of "The Case of Timothy Evans: An Appeal to Reason."

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP (Labour), Eton and Slough, since 1950, born in Calcutta in 1888, is recognised as the outstanding British advocate of the rights of colonial

the maintenance of any invading Government difficult.

### AD HOC COMMISSION

It is doubtful, of course, if the British Government would appoint a Royal Commission. If the request were refused, I should like to see an influentially manned ad hoc Commission set up.

If its personnel were strong, its work could not be ignored.

At the end of World War I Beatrice and Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, Sir Sydney Oliver, Margery Fry and others set up the Prison Systems Enquiry Committee, with Stephen Hobhouse and myself as Secretaries.

The Committee's report and recommendations had a considerable effect. It should be possible now to find an equally influential committee of men and women whose record in administration, industry, science and even military strategy would command respect.

I would plead only that the work should be done thoroughly with a competent, practical staff and with adequate finances.

I would make a further suggestion. Why should not Japan or India propose that such an investigation should be made on an international scale under the auspices of the United Nations?

No enquiry could be more in keeping with its primary purpose of maintaining peace. Or why, if this proposal were rejected, why should not the British Committee be expanded to become international?

Commander King-Hall has lifted non-violent resistance as an alternative to war to the status of a practical challenge. We must not let the opportunity pass.

examine the possibilities of non-violent resistance to aggression.

The short answer to this question is that I have not got £10,000 at my disposal which is an approximate estimate of the cost of a proper enquiry.

I cannot insist too strongly that this is a subject of such vital importance that it cannot be tackled in a half-baked manner.

I believe an enquiry of the kind I visualise could be carried out by private persons, but it may be a more practical scheme to endeavour to persuade the Government to look into the idea.

I do not regard it as impossible that men of high intelligence and experience such as Lord Ismay could be persuaded to co-operate. I believe, for example, that there are more people in a place like the Imperial Defence College who are prepared to consider objectively every conceivable method of defence than there are in civilian walks of life.

Those who are supporting my proposal must recognise that it is revolutionary and the average sensible person has an instinctive aversion to revolution.—STEPHEN KING-HALL, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1.

A letter, on this subject, from Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, appears on page 10.

## Our Contributors

peoples. Educated at Eltham College, his multitude of activities and positions include Editor of the Labour Leader, 1912-17; Secretary, No Conscription Fellowship, 1917; sentenced one month's imprisonment under Defence of the Realm Act, 1917; sentenced to three months', six months', and two years' hard labour under Military Service Act during 1917-18.

Joint Secretary, British Committee of Indian National Congress, 1917; Joint Secretary, Prison System Enquiry Committee, 1920; General Secretary, Independent Labour Party, 1928, and 1933-39; Chairman, No More War Movement and War Resisters' International, 1923-28; Labour Candidate, Lancaster (1922) and Westminster (1924); Executive Labour and Socialist International, 1926-31; MP (Lab.), East Leyton, 1929-31; Chairman, ILP, 1931-33; took part in last public Socialist campaign against Hitler in Germany, 1932; ILP candidate for Parliament four times, 1934-42; gave up pacifism at time of Spanish Civil War; resigned from ILP and rejoined Labour Party, 1946; member, unofficial fact-finding mission to Kenya, 1952; Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom since 1954.

His publications include: "The Devil's Business," 1915; "Socialism and Pacifism," 1917; "The Recruit," 1919; "Non-co-operation in Other Lands," 1919; "The Government of India," 1920; "English Prisons Today" (with Stephen Hobhouse), 1921; "The Indian Crisis," 1930; "Hungry England," 1932; "Workers' Front," 1938; "Inside the Left: a Political Autobiography," 1942; "German Diary," 1946; "Socialism Over Sixty Years: The Life of Jowett of Bradford," 1946; "Bermondsey Story: Life of Alfred Salter," 1949; "Why Mau Mau?" 1953; "African Journeys," 1955.

He writes each week in Peace News and this week devotes his article to discussion of this important proposal.

DR. DONALD SOPER, MA (Cantab.) and Ph.D. (Lond.), is a prominent British Methodist leader. He was President of the Methodist Conference in 1953, and has been Superintendent of the West London Mission, Kingsway Hall, since 1936. He was educated at Askes School, Hatcham; St. Catharine's College, Cambridge University; Wesley House, Cambridge; London School of Economics, London University. He is an outstanding advocate of pacifism. His publications include: "Christ and Tower Hill," "Question Time on Tower Hill," "Answer Time on Tower Hill," "Christianity and its Critics," "Popular Fallacies About the Christian Faith," "Will Christianity Work?" "Practical Christianity Today," and "Questions and Answers in Ceylon."

### DOES BRITAIN NEED HER ARMED FORCES ?

Now, when people like Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall are asking for a close examination of non-violent resistance as an alternative to military defence, is the time to be distributing more copies of Peace News.

You can order extra copies of this week's issue at the reduced rate of 2s. 9d. dozen post free, or reprints of the two pages of "Reflections on Defence" (by special permission of Sir Stephen King-Hall), at 15s. per 100, by using the coupon below:

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**War-time orders**

From Vice-Admiral John Hughes-Hallett, MP

WHILE I am flattered that you should report me at all, I really must protest against the exceedingly misleading nature of your report of my speech during the debate on the Naval Discipline Bill. (In Perspective, May 10, 1957.)

Your summary of my observations on the dilemma of officers ordered to carry out unlawful acts in time of war was perfectly correct as far as it went, but what you failed to add was that the whole object of my speech was to draw attention to the fact that this dilemma has now been removed by the amendment of the law embodied in the new Bill.—JOHN H. HALLETT, House of Commons, London, S.W.1.

Though the misrepresentation was quite unintentional, arising out of the shortening of a newspaper report of the day's Parliamentary proceedings, Vice-Admiral Hughes Hallett is plainly entitled to an apology, which is hereby tendered unqualifiedly.

For my sin, I have since then had to study 14 columns of Hansard with the utmost care, and another 20 almost equally thoroughly. Whilst I accept, of course, the Vice-Admiral's statement regarding the

object of his speech, I do not think that even the Hansard report makes this plain. Nor can I believe that the new amendment disposes of the dilemma either in the subordinate or the higher ranks of the Services.—The Writer of the Paragraph.

**Unitarians and the H-bomb**

A RESOLUTION calling for the abandonment of the H-bomb was defeated by 98 votes to 95 at the recent General Assembly of Unitarian churches, and it is understandable that Stuart Morris (Peace News, May 10) should be disappointed. So were we in the Unitarian Peace Fellowship.

Nevertheless considerable progress is being made towards a more positive social policy in our denomination. Inspired by the presence of Unitarian Harold Steele at its annual meeting, the Peace Fellowship is entering on a more energetic programme; this year the first indigenous (not mis-

sionary) African Unitarian group joined our body—the Unitarian Brotherhood of Lagos; increased participation by Unitarians in the World Congress of Faiths is already yielding great results in the field of inter-faith co-operation.

Altogether, men and women like Harold Steele, Margaret Barr, Homer Jack and Albert Schweitzer (now a member of the Berlin Unitarian Society) are helping to point the way to a revival of that social concern which was once so characteristic of Unitarianism.—TOM WARDLE, Underbank Chapel, Stanington, Sheffield, 6.

**Women's march**

WITH some more women friends, were marchers in London yesterday, for the abolition of H-bomb tests, and we all felt very proud to be there.

It was an inspiring sight to see that crowd of women, all ages, standing in Hyde Park in torrential rain waiting for the steward's signal to commence the Great March. The rain continued in most heavy fashion all along the route and also in Trafalgar Square where we had our meeting, but in most of our thoughts this rain was nothing to what will come later if we fail to continue our campaign for the abolition of the horror weapons and war.

May we, as the marchers in London, appeal to women all over the world to unite to put a stop to this madness. We can do it. We can all make a little start—even just talking about it to our neighbour or the girl or woman we work with.

A salute to women everywhere in the world working for this grand and noble job—Peace.—MARY DRAPER, 6 Lydney House, Waller Rd., London, S.E.14.

**Angry young man**

THE day the Government betrayed all our hopes and exploded the British hydrogen bomb, I sent the following letter to the Prime Minister:

"So you have dropped your H-bomb. YOUR bomb—not our bomb—not Britain's bomb. Britain does not want it. "What now? You have shown that your Government has not the guts to give a moral lead to the world in paving the way for nuclear disarmament. Christmas Island was an act of spineless irresponsibility. Do you care about the ordinary people . . . the mothers and families praying for peace? If so, you will stop the British nuclear tests now—or resign."

It was an angry letter; written by (on this occasion) an angry young man.—ALISTAIR GRAHAM, Secretary, Fulham and Chelsea Young Liberal Association.

**Letters to the Editor****NEW KNOWLEDGE ON PROBLEM FAMILIES**

Dr. John Spencer (Director of Bristol Social project) reviews

The Problem of the Problem Family, by A. F. Philp and Noel Timms. Family Service Units, Pp. 77. 7s. 6d.

THIS is a quite admirable little book, certainly one of the most useful published on this subject up to the present time.

One of the many reasons why it deserves so warm a welcome, I believe, lies in the motive behind its publication. It shows the voluntary body, in this case the Family Service Units, at its best.

It is so easy for voluntary societies to forget their pioneering role and to produce books which attempt merely to justify their existence on outworn principles. The Pacifist Service Units were indeed important pioneers and have done a fine job of work. Since their foundation, however, some new knowledge on problem families has emerged from psychiatric and case-work experience.

The implications of this new knowledge are assessed in this book which is less a justification for the past than a sign-post to the future. The emphasis is not on how much we know about the problem family, but on how little, and the growing experience of the Family Service Units themselves together with their research work is an important step in the right direction.

Mr. Philp and Mr. Timms approach their subject from four angles. First, the description of the problem family and the history

of the concept itself. Second, a comparison between the administrative and case-work approaches to the problem family. Third, the different methods of treatment adopted. They conclude their book with a short chapter on research and also with a quite excellent bibliography. This bibliography they make good use of during the earlier chapters.

A short review cannot do justice, as the authors have done, to the complexity of this question. Their final suggestion, how-

**BOOKS**

ever, for future research deserves serious consideration—in understanding the problem family we are likely to achieve most by better understanding of ordinary families and of their response to the social services.

**Gandhi and Churchill sat for her**

MAY HARRIS reviews

To the Four Winds, by Clare Sheridan. Andre Deutsch, 25s.

WHEN Queen Marie of Rumania asked her why she went from Bolsheviks to Kings and Queens, as if she were a collector of impressions, Clare Sheridan replied "But that is what I am!"

This is a book of her impressions, and if you are interested in art, people or travelling you will find it difficult to put it down until you have reached the last page. Whether we go with her when she travels as an artist and sit with Lenin and Trotsky, or as a journalist "collecting impressions," her magnetic personality, brilliance and beauty open doors which would otherwise be closed to most of us.

She has a genius for making friends, wherever she is, whether she can speak the language or not, in Russia, Africa, South America or with the Indians in the Rockies. We come under the spell of Gandhi as he sits for her; we meet Winston Churchill as a cousin; Henry James as an adopted uncle; we stay with Axel Munthe at San Michele and visit King Gustav in his palace at Stockholm.

It was through a great sorrow that Clare Sheridan found herself to be an artist. When her baby died and she was planning a headstone for the grave it was suggested that she modelled one herself; 21 years later when her son died, wood and chisels were put into her hands and she carved. She lost her husband in "the war to end all wars" and when war came again in 1939 she thanked God that He had taken her son before he, too, was killed in taking the lives of others.

Having been a Roman Catholic at heart since convent school days, the urge to join that Church assailed her. So, when the war was nearly over, she made a pilgrimage to Assisi, and became a member of the Third Order of Franciscans. The taking of life is incompatible with her faith, and this led her to becoming a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union.

**REFORMIST ZEAL IN INDIA**

Esme Wynne Tyson reviews

The Dark Goddess, by Hallam Tennyson. Vallentine, Mitchell, 12s. 6d.

IT says much for the quality of the writing that this book, despite the depressingly sordid picture it gives of India, its extremely unattractive, utilitarian, horsey and large-footed heroine and squint-eyed hero, manages to hold the interest to its conventional end.

Joan Raydon—there is a hint of her affinity with the belligerent saint of that christian name—is one of those tedious people who go to India determined to alter the conditions of the inhabitants whether they like it or not. Doping herself with drugs against every conceivable complaint, and then nearly dying of two of the worst diseases that her pills had temporarily "suppressed," and driving herself from one reform to another, she is a typical product of our materialistic, scientific age.

We discover her engrossed in an admirable, if unromantic, scheme for providing underground sewage for Calcutta; but while the book leaves us in no doubt of the urgent necessity for this reform, it scarcely behoves a British woman to rail at the local authorities for not providing it, when a few miles out of such "civilised" towns as Bath and Oxford villages still exist where water has to be fetched from the communal well, and the only sanitation is referred to by the mystic initials of E.C.

★

Until social workers like the heroine of THE DARK GODDESS have persuaded the British Government to divert the millions of pounds it proposes to spend on the making of an earth-satellite, to provide the more immediate necessities of tap water and flush-lavatories for the inhabitants of this island, India's sanitation might more appropriately be left to her own progressive countrymen.

The problem posed in this book is the now rather hackneyed one of the opposition of the religious East to the proposed reforms of the Socialist West. But neither the author nor his characters appear to realise that if the people of both East and West were taught the view of Gandhi, to whom some casual reference is made, and many other great thinkers, that the whole aim and meaning of religion and life is man's spiritual evolution, the outgrowing of his animalism and the attainment of a higher sense of manhood, there need be no problem, since sewage and sanitation projects would then emerge naturally and inevitably from the same dedicated spirit as that responsible for the building of cathedrals in the Middle Ages, and for the same purpose—to enable men to live less like animals and more like human beings.

Unfortunately this simple solution did not occur to our serious-minded hero and heroine, and we leave them bowing the knee to the dark fertility Goddess, Kali, in a mutual determination to add to the already acute population problem, apparently without any compunction for the fact that they might be reproducing her feet and his squint.

**Work with coloured immigrants**

GEOFFREY AYRE REVIEWS

Colour And Conscience, by John Darragh. Author, 1s. 6d.

THIS booklet summarises the results of four years study of living and working conditions of the coloured population of Birmingham, England.

After discussing the factors underlying the large-scale immigration from the West Indies, Mr. Darragh goes on to consider the problem of housing and the exploitation of the shortage of accommodation by both white and coloured landlords. He makes an urgent plea for the control of immigration until such time as people coming to this country can be adequately housed and regards the registration of the owners of rented properties and their oversight as an urgent matter.

From the results of interviewing 1,000 people, Mr. Darragh argues a strong feeling of colour prejudice on the part of Birmingham people. A similar survey taken of 1,000 coloured people (which included 900 West Indians) reveals a belief that they are the victims of prejudice.

In spite of some factual inaccuracies (the reference to Somalis being among exploiting landlords as an example) and conclusions upon which Mr. Darragh is on unsure ground sometimes, this is a booklet which will be of value to those who wish to know more of the complexities of the colour problem. The field of personal service among coloured immigrants and of improved race relations is bedevilled by those people of goodwill who know a little but do not know how little they know. This booklet provides both useful information and a reasoned approach to the solution of problems both acute and difficult.

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# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, May 25

**BRISTOL:** 10 a.m., 3 p.m. and in the evening. Stop the H-bomb tests processions to publicise the May 30 Mass Meeting. Details from Bill Parkin, 15 Kenmare Cres., Bristol, 7. PPU.

**MAIDSTONE:** 3.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Wheeler St. PPU Area Meeting (South-Eastern). Speaker: Stuart Morris. Contact members specially asked to attend.

**MAIDSTONE:** 7 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho., Wheeler St. Brains Trust—Peace of War. Question Master: Otto L. Shaw, JP, PhD, BSc. Panel: Rev. Geo. E. Neely, Stuart Morris, MA, Hilda Von Klenze, Philip Millwood. PPU.

**LIVERPOOL:** 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board from May 25 onwards every Saturday. Guest speakers welcomed.

Sunday, May 26

**NEWINGTON, KENT:** Orchard, Ancient Parish Church, 3 p.m. Open-air Service. Discourse, Rev. Will Hayes, "Festivals." If wet, Church of the Great Companions, Hammond Hill, Chatham. Coach party leaving Victoria 10 a.m. Particulars from Gladys Gellert, 42 Minet Ave., N.W.10. PPU Religion Commission.

Tuesday, May 28

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m. PPU London Area's monthly meeting. 6 Endsleigh St.

Wednesday, May 29

**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA:** 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Dunderdon Road, Leigh. Pacifist and non-pacifists seeking to influence local opinion in ways of peace. All welcome. Southend and District Peace Council.

Thursday, May 30

**BRISTOL:** Central Hall—Mass Meeting in protest against H-bomb tests. Speaker, Prof. Coulson and others.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road. Group Discussion. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh Street. John Moss, of the Young Communist League. PYAG.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh Street. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. Questions will be answered by a panel of pacifists; and at Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1, on June 26, July 24 and August 28. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Saturday, June 1

**EPSOM:** 7 p.m. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." 7.30 p.m. Speeches by John Loversseed, AFC, and C. D. Legon, BA. Questions, Discussion. Proposal of resolution of protest against nuclear warfare and A-bomb tests. 9 p.m. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." Myers Hall (behind Ebbisham Hall), Ashley Rd, Epsom and District Peace Fellowship, Secretary: Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashstead, Surrey.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m.-5.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, "The Work of Unesco and the Teaching of History." W. E. Payne, M.A. Tea 4 p.m. 6d. Education Commission, PPU. Sec. Jone Burgess, 9 West Street, Hertford, Herts.

**HARROW:** 2.30 p.m.; Poster Parade. Assemble Fairholme Road (nr. Car Park) off Station Road, Harrow. 3.45 p.m. Open-air Meeting opposite Fairholme Road. Speakers: Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison. 5 p.m. Buffet tea, Friends Meeting House, 456 Rayners Lane, nr. Rayners Lane Station. 6.30 p.m. Any Questions—Friends Meeting House. Panel—Kathleen Lonsdale, Stuart Morris, Owen Taylor, Rev. Owen Butler. Question Master—Sybil Morrison. Trains to Harrow, Metropolitan Line, or Harrow and Wealdstone, Bakerloo.

Monday, June 3

**HOUNSLOW:** 8 p.m.; Town Hall. H-bomb protest and film, Dr. Burhop and others. Hounslow Friends.

Wednesday, June 5

**BRISTOL:** 7 p.m. Hermes (UPW) Room, 26 Broad St. 1—Economic consequences of Unilateral Disarmament—Prof. H. D. Dickinson. Discussion. PPU.

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7.15 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bull Street. Discussion on Kathleen Lonsdale's book "Is Peace Possible?" PPU, WMA.

Thursday, June 6

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends House, Euston Road. Peace News Twenty-first Birthday Celebrations. Humphrey S. Moore (founding editor), Vera Brittain, Donald Soper, Michael Tippett, Bernard Boothroyd, Sybil Morrison, J. Allen Skinner, Hugh Brock and many others. Music by Frank Merrick, Eric Rees. Refreshments, 6.30-7.30 p.m., in Friends House Restaurant.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road. Speaker, Leslie Strudwick, "Breaking the Vicious Circle." E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

## Every week!

SATURDAYS

**LIVERPOOL:** 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

**SHIPLEY:** 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

**KIDBROOKE:** 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

## BRITAIN COULD ABOLISH WAR BY A "Blazing act of faith" SAYS COMPTON MACKENZIE

Sir Compton Mackenzie expressed his views recently on the need for British unilateral disarmament in a broadcast on the Overseas Service of the BBC. He was Director of the Aegean Intelligence

Service in 1917, and is widely known as a poet and author of many books. These selections are reproduced by courtesy of London Calling, the Overseas Journal of the BBC.

*WHAT the world needs today is a tremendous gesture by a great nation, and I believe that Britain is the only one which could summon the moral courage to make it. I believe that if Britain told the world that she proposed to disarm completely and went on to do so, no other nation could stand up against the impact of such moral leadership.*

*I believe that present talk about the impossibility of another world war because of the means of destruction now available to mankind is a dangerous sedative, for all such talk is merely the expression of a hope that war will be averted because neither side can win.*

### DISARMAMENT

*If Britain disarmed completely I do not believe that any nation in the world would dare to take advantage of her material weakness, because her moral strength would be overwhelming.*

*Reduction of armaments and agreement to ban the H-bomb are merely devices to make war less unpleasant than it might be; neither of them allows humanity to believe war is impossible.*

*I may sound like a foolish dreamer, but I cannot forget the effect of that tremendous gesture by which we gave back to India and to Pakistan their liberty. It*

*was to know again that momentary illumination of my boyhood when, on an August day, I was made aware of a life beyond my own, when for the first time I knew for certain that God was my Creator.*

*I was filled with exultation on that other August day in India fifty years later because I was a Briton, a creature who had been transfigured by what on that morning seemed to every Indian a miracle.*

### FREEDOM

*I believe that the tremendous gesture of abdication made by Britain nine years ago saved Asia from a state of affairs infinitely worse than any brought about by the present travail of that mighty continent to shape its future, and my conviction that Britain can save the world from plunging into ruin by a much greater gesture than the renunciation of imperial rule in India grows stronger every year I am still alive.*

*So, in brief, I believe that every man must try to love his neighbour as himself, and that the smallest nation of whatever colour should be allowed freedom to choose its own way of life, and freedom to follow that way of life. The rest is a dream.*

*But we must have dreams in which to believe, and so I declare my conviction that Britain could save the world by completely disarming herself, and thus, by a blazing act of faith, abolish war.*

## 60 YEARS A PACIFIST

### From the Boer War to the H-bomb

*Last week members of the Congregational Pacifist Fellowship distributed a thousand copies of Dr. Schweitzer's appeal for the ending of H-bomb tests to Congregationalists gathered for their Annual Assembly.*

*A crowded meeting of Fellowship members held in connection with the Assembly, was addressed by Mr. Ebenezer Cunningham, MA, a former National Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. It is reported here by Constance Willis.*

**MR. CUNNINGHAM** (who is 76) traced his convictions back to his sixth form days, when the word "pacifism" had not been invented.

Referring to the Boer War, he said he was shocked at the invasion of what seemed to be a more or less peaceful people and also by the presence in the University of a Volunteer Corps.

"I felt I did not belong at all. It puzzled me that people I knew volunteered to go out to Africa in the Forces, there to take part in the long-drawn struggle which ended in Mafeking."

After the Boer War and before World War I, a friend, who had gone into the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors, took Mr. Cunningham over a battleship on which he was working, and he referred to his revulsion at the thought: "This thing, in which we are, will go out with its great guns and torpedoes and there will be men down in the bottom of this ship who are at the mercy of whatever happens to it behind water-tight doors."

Returning to London, from Scotland, in 1914, Mr. Cunningham found his wife feverishly working on a petition begging the Government not to declare war—but it was too late.

Mr. Cunningham then spoke of his distress of mind at the close of World War I that, after all the suffering and long-drawn-out agony, there was a Peace Treaty which was a dictation of the victors to the van-

quished; of the aftermath of war which revealed the abyss into which we had sunk, of the disastrous reaction upon Germany which turned to Hitler and aeroplanes and bombs.

"Little by little things which had shocked us became accepted. When air-raids first began, Christian people wondered whether we were justified in retaliating, but soon the reprisals became worse than the original attacks; the abnormal weapon soon becomes the conventional weapon. We come to accept as normal those things which had been considered abominable and impossible. The witness and the teaching of Christ stand unaltered; they have not been changed by the inventions that we have come to see and dread. His Cross is what it was, in the face of the present situation, as in that of 1914 or the Boer War.

★

"On the other hand, it has been revealed to us what barbarism there is in the heart of man. We were deeply shocked and moved by the abominations of Belsen, but not quite so shocked by Hiroshima; now we have come to accept Hiroshima as the normal kind of world—the thing for which we are discarding some of the conventional weapons."

Mr. Ebenezer Cunningham expressed the opinion that it was rather a waste of time to denounce tests if you have accepted atomic bombs. Further, he said he was not much drawn to those organisations which spent themselves ungrudgingly on patching up the mischief (helping refugees, etc.) meantime running away from the ultimate problem of seeing the way to the ending of those things which create the sores.

"The thing that pacifists should not do, and which I have done many and many a time, is to get hot under the collar in argument. We must become a little more understanding of what are the things which will touch peoples' minds and hearts and help them a little more to understand that vital and unshakable truth that is enshrined in Christ and His way and His words."

May 24, 1957—PEACE NEWS—9

## CLASSIFIED Advertisements

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**LATEST TIME for copy:** Monday morning. Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

### MEETINGS

**SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY:** Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Sunday, May 26, 11 a.m., Hector Hawton, "Science and Morals." Adm. free. Free copy of "Monthly Record" on request.

**LONDON, S.E.17:** 3 p.m.-5 p.m., Surrey Hall Manor Place, Waltham. Annual General Meeting Ex-service Movement for Peace. Main speaker, Mr. Vic Pegram, National Sec. E.S.M.P.

### ACCOMMODATION

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**THE WORLD League Against Vivisection** oppose all cruelties in food, dress, amusement and medicine. "The Animals' Champion" free on request. 42 Aberdeen Rd., London, N.5.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

**PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN** up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

### HOLIDAYS

**BOURNEMOUTH** (Boscombe). Friendly comfortable private hotel, near sea. Ordinary and vegetarian food. Norah Bailey, Court Green, Glen Rd. Tel. Boscombe 33621.

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**KESWICK—Visit Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, The Heads, for the holiday of your choice. Good centre for restful or energetic holidays. Good food. Friendly atmosphere. Anne Horner. Phone 508.**

**BLUE IDOL, Coolham, Horsham, Sussex.** Historic 16th century house, associated William Penn. Fully modernised, good food, beautiful surroundings. Coolham 241.

**THREE MILES Southend-on-Sea.** Double bed-sitting room, small kitchenette, own toilet, electric fire, gas cooker, constant hot water, parking for car, cycles. Shops and buses 5 minutes. Tent with camp beds (2) in garden for children over 8 yrs. (same sex). 3 gns. plus 10s. each child. 4 Warwick Drive, Rochford, Essex.

Fourth printing

## Dr. Schweitzer's H-bomb test appeal

Two-page broadsheet full text of his world appeal to stop the H-bomb tests, reprinted from Peace News. For widest possible distribution now.

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Please send.....copies of Dr. Schweitzer's broadcast.

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## More than a defence technique

From Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS.

I AM very glad to read in Peace News of Stephen King-Hall's proposal for a serious study of non-violent resistance, even though what he has in mind is the limited field of defence in a political-strategic sense.

What does need to be broken down is the assumption that without arms, and in particular without nuclear weapons, this country would simply become the victim of Communist aggression and the next generation so conditioned that all democratic (or, as it is sometimes put, Christian) ideals would disappear.

The fact that this seems defeatist nonsense to some of us does not alter the fact that many intelligent people really believe it to be true.

We shall not change their outlook without convincing them that there is a better way of behaving than either by opposing violence by violence or by lying down and being a doormat.

What we want them to do is to study non-violent resistance themselves and to begin to practice it in such limited ways as may be necessary. They will soon find out that it is not "passive", to begin with. They will also find out that it is more than a defence technique.

If a Royal Commission means that some thoughtful and influential people begin this kind of study and publish the results, well and good. But I would like also to see many young and old people undertaking the same sort of research.

Don't let us forget, however, that non-violent resistance of wrong and active co-operation in right are reverse sides of the same medal.—KATHLEEN LONSDALE, 121 Station Road, West Drayton, Middlesex.

Kathleen Lonsdale will speak at Harrow on Saturday, June 1 during the coming PPU demonstration.

## U.S. Pilgrimage

★ FROM PAGE ONE

ministers from Southern towns such as Tallahassee, Florida, where non-violent action has taken place against segregation, received an enthusiastic welcome.

The Times correspondent commented from this that "the civil rights movement among the Negroes is developing its own traditions and its own leadership."

The Pilgrimage was officially sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the largest anti-segregation organisation in the US.

In the past it has concentrated almost exclusively on securing legislation and judicial decisions, and has usually stood aside from non-violent direct action and resistance.

A European farmer in Pietersburg, Transvaal, South Africa, convicted of having fiendishly tortured an African employee suspected of theft, was sentenced recently to 18 months imprisonment and four strokes of the lash.

In Peace News next week

**Dr. MARTIN NIEMOLLER**

Must we go on destroying each other?  
Man's Problem and the Answer.

## STOP THE TESTS

Public Meeting: Central Hall Old Market St.

**BRISTOL**

Thursday May 30, 7.30 p.m.

Speakers: Professor C. A. COULSON FRS and others

**POSTER PARADE Sat. May 25**  
leaving Old Market St. 3 p.m.

Offers of help to Will Parkin, 15 Kenmare Cres. Bristol.

By Sybil Morrison

## THE TRUE PERIL

*Professor Penney, architect of Britain's H-power, did not see his first H-bomb go off. He stayed here for a good reason. For almost a year Britain has been secretly stockpiling. And Penney has been supervising this task: the scientist was so confident his bomb would not fail that the Government ordered a stockpile to be started 'off the drawing-board.'*

—News Chronicle, May 10, 1957.

IN Hyde Park on Sunday, one of my audience said that though he agreed with almost everything I had argued, he, nevertheless, believed that possession of the H-bomb was the only insurance today against a nuclear weapon war that would, inevitably, destroy all of us.

He was not "heckling" me in the usual meaning of the word; he plainly was quite sincerely convinced that though the nuclear bombs are weapons he would call evil, they were still a lesser evil than Communist domination.

He is not alone in this conviction. On the contrary; a recent Gallup Poll in the News Chronicle showed that though more and more people think that the H-bomb tests are a threat to world health, yet a growing number approve of Britain carrying out these tests. Far more approve than disapprove.

Their reasons are, without question, the same as my Hyde Park questioner, and of course, the Government has given the lead in that particular field of reasoning.

For a long time they have been arguing that possession of nuclear power will prevent its ever being used in war; that if Britain did not have the H-bomb, those countries who possessed it would have overwhelming strength, and could safely use nuclear weapons against us without retaliation.

★

The belief in the bomb as a deterrent is, undoubtedly, a conviction sincerely held, and it is this very sincerity which constitutes the most formidable opposition not only to the protest against the tests, but to any protest or agitation against the nuclear arms race itself.

Obviously if the H-bomb is believed to be a deterrent, secret stockpiling is of no use whatever; the possession of a stockpile must be made common knowledge, and the only way is by holding a test.

The agitation against Britain holding any tests has been based upon the ground of human hazard, but the tragic fact remains

## "War—We Say No" Harrow demonstration

HARROW, the west London suburb famous for its public school, will be the scene of a "War—We Say No" demonstration on June 1.

The Peace Pledge Union are calling for helpers to carry posters urging disarmament, the abolition of nuclear weapons and the ending of conscription. The programme, in which Professor Kathleen Lonsdale takes part, is advertised on page five.

Harrow can be reached by train from Baker Street in twenty minutes.

A central London poster march is to be held on June 22, led by Dr. Donald Soper and accompanied by a pipe band.

## A letter from Gandhi

Next week Peace News will reproduce the full text of a letter dated 1909 from Mahatma Gandhi to Count Leo Tolstoy recently discovered in a book in Tolstoy's library at his home, Yasnaya Polyana, Russia.

that the Government, believing that the human hazard of the tests is infinitely less than the human hazard of a nuclear war, is openly prepared to take that risk; they in fact choose on our behalf what they sincerely believe to be the lesser evil.

There is nothing new in this, since Governments for centuries have justified wars on this ground. The difference today, however, is a difference not only in degree, but in moral turpitude. In war a certain number of lives, perhaps millions, are judged to be expendable, but a nuclear war means that every human being in the world is expendable.

Never in all its history has the world faced such an unimaginable and appalling threat. It is, therefore, understandable that those in responsible positions of leadership and government should look upon the human hazards of the tests as a much lesser threat than the threat of war with its inevitable consequence of total destruction.

To challenge this basic assumption that evil can be overcome by evil is the most urgent need in the whole world today. The failure to do so make it possible for Governments (and for some pacifists, too apparently) to argue on dubious scientific grounds, and not upon moral principles.

Yet, it is upon moral principles alone that the ground is firm enough to make a stand. Those who believe it expedient to make the bomb cannot logically deny the Government's right to test it: those who believe it wrong must face the fact that only abolition of war itself can prevent Governments from using the weapons to their hands.

The peril to world health is real; the peril to the human race is real; these two perils are put upon the scales and weighed against each other, while the peril to the human soul is left upon one side.

The denial of the existence of good involved in the process of weighing up evils and choosing one, is the true peril, and it is here that the impact of moral conviction must, and ultimately will, make its mark.

## "War—We Say No" EISENHOWER PETITIONED

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has been petitioned by Julius Eichel, Brooklyn pacifist, to act to have his son, Seymour, released from prison. Seymour, 26, was sentenced to a year and a day last December for refusing to register in 1948 under the Selective Service Act.

Julius Eichel and his wife, Esther, visited Government officials in Washington, DC, at the end of April and were told that nothing could be done to release Seymour unless he applies for parole, which he refuses on grounds of conscience to do.

Julius Eichel pointed out to the President that despite a promise from a representative of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Seymour had been subjected to vaccination and inoculation, also in violation of his conscience.

He wrote that his son "should be freed and an end brought to this injustice visited upon him for his conscientious scruples against conscription and war."

Seymour began a fast on May 10 in the Federal Detention Headquarters in New York City as a result of what his father describes as "the impositions and indignities by the officials."

Mr. Eichel asks others to help obtain the release of his son.

## Churches and international affairs

DR. ROBERT MACKIE's address on The Churches and International Affairs to the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales will be reported in Peace News next week.

## Turning swords into ploughshares

A CALL for Britain's Royal Ordnance factories not to be closed because of disarmament was made by the General Secretary of the Institution of Professional Civil Servants when he addressed the Institution's delegate conference at Eastbourne on Monday.

Discussing the effect upon members of the recent defence White Paper, he suggested that the fact that particular factories were not required for arms production was no reason for their abolition.

"What ought to happen, in my submission, is that those organisations should be maintained and turned to the manufacture of things of important civil production." He hoped that the Minister of Supply, who was meeting the Civil Service unions at the end of this month, would realise the importance of the ordnance factories at "ready made economic units."

"Turning swords into ploughshares (he went on) is an admirable thing in a Minister's speech: it is even more admirable when it is a matter of day-to-day action. Let the Minister secure credit not only for giving us the manufacture of the sword but also for the positive virtue of manufacturing the ploughshare."

## TIME FOR ACTION

PEACE NEWS wants your help in these critical days. From our office in recent weeks we have:

● Secured the full text of Dr. Schweitzer's broadcast and reprinted it three times after its first publication in Peace News.

● Done our best to give the widest coverage of all anti-H-bomb activities.

● Undertaken the production for Harold Davies, MP, of his pamphlet, "Death Stands at Attention" (starting distribution five days after the manuscript was completed).

● Promoted the widest possible discussion of Sir Stephen King-Hall's plea for an investigation into non-violent resistance as an alternative to military defence.

Once again this week we devote two full pages to this major debate which has already aroused great interest far beyond pacifist circles.

Next week we shall be publishing more articles and letters on this subject.

The campaigns for an investigation of unarmed defence, and for the abolition of the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons will receive the maximum coverage in Peace News in the weeks ahead. We shall publish such extra pages as are considered necessary.

## WHAT WE WANT EVERY READER TO DO

is to secure the maximum distribution of Peace News during the next few weeks, critical weeks in the history of the British peace movement.

Will all those readers able to distribute a dozen copies weekly for the next eight weeks to those likely to be interested in what Peace News is saying in the present world situation, send £1 with the coupon below and we will see that a dozen copies of each issue are dispatched over the next eight weeks.

You can help, too, by asking your news-agent to order two or three extra copies and to display them on his counter, undertaking to purchase any unsold copies at the end of seven days.

See that every meeting on the H-bomb has Peace News on sale both outside and on the literature stall.

Now is the time, too, to undertake door-to-door, sales drives in small groups. This provides a splendid opportunity of talking to people on disarmament and the H-bomb. NOW IS THE TIME TO BE OUT AND ABOUT WITH PEACE NEWS

To Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Please send me one dozen copies of Peace News weekly for the next eight weeks. I enclose £1/or charge to my account.

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